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THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 10.217-220, concluded by pointing out how much of the Classics he found in a single copy of a newspaper, published in the midst of our last Presidential campaign. This reminds me of a fine paper by Professor Kent, of which mention should have been made long ago. It is entitled Latin and Greek in the Newspapers, and appeared in the Alumni magazine published at the University of Pennsylvania, formerly known as Old Penn, but now called The Pennsylvania Gazette. See volume 15.386-390 (March 30, 1917). This paper, read at the Fourth Annual Meeting of The Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Liberal Studies, presents an astonishing array of evidence that to the writers in the Philadelphia newspapers, at least, the Classics are not dead, and that these writers have no fear that the Classics are dead to their readers.

C. K.

SOME FOLK-LORE OF ANCIENT PHYSIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY

(Concluded from pages 21, 29)

We have now noted the beliefs connected with the organs of the lower and the upper trunk cavity and with the head. There remain to be discussed certain elements of our physical constitution which are common to the whole body, namely, the humors, bones, nerves, flesh, and skin.

From the time of Hippocrates the ancients believed that there were four cardinal fluids of the body—*sanguis*, *cholera* or yellow bile, *melancholia* or black bile, *phlegma* (Isidorus, Origines 4.5).

These four liquids were known as *humors* (*humor* being the Latin word for 'liquid'), and good health was thought to depend on the maintenance of a just proportion among them. The balance or commixture of the humors was known as a man's *temperament*, that is, his 'mixture' (L. *tempero*, 'to mix')⁵², or as his *complexion* (from a Latin word meaning 'combination', derived from *com-*, 'together', and *plecto*, 'to weave'). Thus if a man had more blood than any other humor in his system, he was said to be of a *sanguine* temperament or complexion (L. *sanguis*, 'blood'); if more bile, of a *bilious* temperament or complexion; if more phlegm, of a *phlegmatic* temperament; if more melancholy (or black bile), of a *melancholy* temperament. If the temperament, or balance of the humors, was greatly disturbed, the result was *distemper*⁵³, that is, a 'variance from the proper mixture'⁵⁴

Temper, however, which was a synonym of *temperament*, has taken a different course. We use it vaguely for 'disposition', but commonly associate it in some way with 'irascibility'. 'Keep your *temper*', 'he lost

⁵²Compare Ben Jonson, Cynthia's Revels, 2.3 A creature of a most perfect and divine temper, one in whom the humors and elements are peaceably met, without emulation of precedence.

⁵³This word may be used of either physical or mental condition. Thus Shakespeare writes, II King Henry IV 3.1. 41-43:

It is but as a body yet distemper'd;
Which to his former strength may be restored
With good advice and little medicine.

Hamlet's madness is called a distemper. Compare also Tempest 4.1.145 touch'd with anger so distemper'd. So Franklin says in his Autobiography, My distemper was a pleurisy which very nearly carried me off.

⁵⁴The quotations are from Greenough and Kittredge, Words and their Ways in English Speech, 30-31, 32.

his *temper*', 'ill-tempered'⁵⁵, show a trace of the old meaning; but the colloquial 'What a *temper* he has!', 'He is in such a *temper*!' would never be referred to physiological science by one who did not know the history of the word.

Upon the blood depended sweetness of disposition and geniality: *Sanguis Latine vocatus quod suavis est, unde et homines, quibus dominatur sanguis, dulces et blandi sunt* (Isidorus, Origines 4.5.6). The blood was aided and abetted by the bile in producing ill humor: *Ex sanguine et felle acutae passionis nascuntur, quas Graeci δξεία vocant* (Isidorus, 4.5.7)⁵⁶.

These beliefs are reflected indirectly in English by such expressions as good humor, ill humor, in humor (obsolete), out of humor, vein of humor⁵⁷.

As might be expected, passionate love is occasionally represented as having its abode in the blood; compare Aen. 4.1-2. One can compare with this Bassanio's words addressed to Portia, M. V. 3.2.178: Only my blood speaks to you in my veins.

There are still other popular notions connected with the blood. According to Pliny, N. H. 11.221, animals with abundant rich blood are irascible; those with thick blood courageous; those with thin blood intelligent; those with little or no blood timid⁵⁸. Pliny adds, 11.226, that there are persons who believe that the keenness of the mind does not depend upon the thinness of the blood⁵⁹. Empedocles was numbered among those who attributed acuteness or bluntness of intellect to the quality of the blood⁶⁰.

Pliny further informs us, N. H. 11.224, that the blood spreading over the face indicates changing mental attitudes, by depicting shame, anger, and fear through the varying degrees of pallor and redness. So much is true, but our author adds that the redness

⁵⁵Compare Julius Caesar 4.3.113-115 Hath Cassius lived To be but mirth and laughter to his Brutus, When grief and blood ill-temper'd vexeth him?

⁵⁶Such notions about the blood are frequently found in Shakespeare. The following quotations from II King Henry IV are worth citing: 2.3.30 humours of the blood; 4.3.34 as humorous as winter. There is a close connection between one's disposition and the blood. Compare 4.4.38 When you perceive his blood inclined to mirth. The opposite side of one's nature is likewise affected. Compare 4.4.63 When rage and hot blood are his counsellors; 4.5.38 Thy due from me is tears and heavy sorrows of the blood.

Another illuminating instance is to be found in Julius Caesar 4.3.119-121:

Have not you love enough to bear with me
When that rash humour which my mother gave me
Makes me forgetful?

⁵⁷'A diseased condition of any one of the four humors might manifest itself as an eruption on the skin; hence such an eruption is still called a *humor* in common language. Again, an excess of one of the humors might make a man odd or fantastic in his speech and actions. Thus *humorous* took the meaning 'eccentric', and a '*humorous* man' was what we call, in modern slang, a '*crank*'. The 'comedy of humors', of which Ben Jonson is the best exponent, found material in caricaturing such eccentric persons. From this sense, *humor* had an easy development to that of 'a keen perception of the odd or incongruous', and we thus arrive at the regular modern meaning of the word. It is certainly a long way from *humor* in the literal sense of 'liquid' or 'moisture' to *humor* in the sense in which that quality is so often associated with wit' (Greenough and Kittredge, Words and their Ways in English Speech, 32-33).

⁵⁸Compare figurative uses of 'warm-blooded', 'cold-blooded', 'sanguine'.

⁵⁹Compare 'Blood will tell'.

⁶⁰Sed Empedocles causam argutae indolis et obtusae in sanguinis qualitate constituit (Tertullian, De Anima 20).

Compare King Lear 3.1.40 I am a gentleman of blood and breeding.

of anger is one thing, and the blush of modesty another. According to his view, a person blushes, as we have shown before, because the cheeks are the seat of modesty.

The ancients believed that the blood was pumped through the body in veins, and that the arteries were air-ducts; *sanguis per venas in omne corpus diffunditur et spiritus per arterias* (Cicero, N. D. 2.138; Pliny, N. H. 11.182, 218)⁶¹. Ignorance of the facts of circulation naturally caused other misconceptions. It led to the localization of the seat of modesty in the cheeks. It gave birth, likewise, to the notion that the arteries were air-passages, a mistake to which the very word artery (*ἀρτηρία*, Latin *arteria*) is a monument more enduring than bronze⁶².

Ancient physiology supposed that the *spiritus* passing through the arteries vitally influenced the processes of life.

It is in unconscious obedience to this superannuated science that we use such words and phrases as 'in high (low, good, bad) *spirits*', *high-spirited*, *low-spirited*, 'a *spirited* horse', 'a *spiritless* performance', and that we speak of one who is spontaneously merry as having 'a great flow of *animal spirits*'⁶³.

A large body of beliefs grew up in connection with the flesh also. The view was current in antiquity that sin and many forms of weakness were due to the *caro*. No set of notions connected with any organ, except the heart, has left a stronger impress upon language, especially ecclesiastical literature. Even in Latin pagan works the idea of the conflict between the spirit and the flesh is well developed. The *corpus* or *caro* is regarded as the seat of the baser passions.

Seneca, Epp. 7.3.22, says of the body: 'In this hateful abode the mind dwells free; never shall this flesh drive me to fear, never to insincerity unbecoming to a good man'. He states further, in Epp. 7.3.20, that he is too great, and born to too noble a destiny, to permit his becoming a slave to his body. Other passages in Seneca are equally significant; compare e.g. Epp. 8.73.16 *Summum bonum in animo contineamus. . . . Non est summa felicitatis nostrae in carne ponenda*. The following sounds very much like the utterance of a Church father: *Omne illi <=animo> cum gravi carne certamen est, ne abstrahatur* (Consolatio ad Marciam 24).

Such usage paved the way for the expressions so common in the Latin of the New Testament and of the ecclesiastical writers. The following are typical instances from the Bible: 'Caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, spiritus autem adversus carnem (Gal. 5.17); Spiritus quidem promptus, caro vero infirma (Mark 14.38).

⁶¹Compare Love's Labour's Lost 4.3.305 The nimble spirits in the arteries.

⁶²In English we have several expressions that reflect ancient mistakes. We say that a person has French blood in his *veins* (not in his arteries). The blood was one of the 'humors' of the body; hence we speak of a 'vein of humor', not an 'artery of humor'. It is significant that the Spaniard designated a certain class of aristocrats as 'blue bloods', and not as 'red bloods'.

⁶³Greenough and Kittredge, Words and their Ways in English Speech, 33.

No more sweeping statement of the attitude toward the flesh can be found than in Tertullian, Resurr. 15: *In carne et cum carne et per carnem agitur ab anima quod agitur in corde*.

There are two probable explanations of these beliefs. The ancients regarded the human body as composed of four elements, air in the breath, fire in the heat, moisture in the blood, earth in the flesh. As in the physical universe the basest element is earth, so in the body the flesh is regarded as the basest part, and hence is a fit abode for the passions.

The other explanation carries us back to a time when the function and the existence of nerves were unknown. Since pleasures and pains are felt locally, it was concluded that the seat of sensation is in the flesh⁶⁴. Hence we say that the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.

It was the opinion of some in antiquity that a thick skin indicated stupidity (compare English 'thick-skinned', 'thick-skulled'), a view that Pliny, N. H. 11.226-227, refutes to his own satisfaction by citing the cunning of the crocodile and the intelligence of the hippopotamus and the elephant⁶⁵.

The custom of embracing the knees is due, according to Pliny, N. H. 11.250, to a strange notion:

'Suppliants clasp the knees, they stretch their hands to them, they adore them as they do altars, perhaps because the knees are the seat of vitality. For exactly at the front of either knee, right as well as left, there is a kind of opening like that of a mouth. From this, if pierced, the vital spirit escapes as from a throat'.

The knees were consecrated to *misericordia*, just as the ear was to memory (Servius, on Vergil, Ecl. 6.3).

Several ideas were associated by the ancients with the marrow. Perhaps they thought it exercised a profound influence on life since Nature took such pains to enclose it in a hard casing. In the oldest tradition it was a seat of life, as we see from Od. 3.455.

Among the Romans the seat of life is not assigned to the marrow, but some of the deeper and more vital manifestations of emotional life are placed in it. Thus we find in Cicero, Phil. 1.36, in *medullis populi Romani ac visceribus haerebant*. Compare Ovid, Trist. 1.5.9 *Haec mihi semper erunt imis infixae medullis*.

Vergil makes the marrow the seat of some of the deeper feelings, as love, fury, grief and fear. Thus the flame of love eats at the marrow of Dido: Aen. 4.66; 1.660. In another instance, Aen. 4. 101, when Dido is represented as madly in love, she arouses fury in her bones. Great grief burns in the bones of Gyas: Aen. 5.172. So, too, fear may be felt in the bones: Aen. 6.55-56.

Harpers' Dictionary regards the secondary uses of *medulla* as tropes. But few of them, it seems to me, are to be taken as such, in the ordinary sense of the

⁶⁴Aristotle regarded the flesh as the seat of feeling. See Zeller, Outlines of Greek Philosophy, 203.

⁶⁵Compare the English use of 'pachyderm' as applied to dullards.

term trope. I believe that an orator is called 'the marrow of eloquence'⁶⁶, not because of any similarity between eloquence and marrow, but because the marrow was supposed to be the seat of some of the deeper feelings which he succeeded in arousing.

Popular fancy seems to have played but little part in attributing functions to the nerves as such, for the simple reason that the existence of the nerves was not generally known among the laity. Even the Egyptian story already quoted from Gellius to the effect that rings are worn on the finger next to the smallest one, because there is a delicate nerve connecting it with the heart, is a matter for antiquarian research. Aristotle is said to have been unaware of their presence in the human body⁶⁷. Hippocrates, however, knew of nerves as distinguished from tendons and ligaments⁶⁸. There are, nevertheless, popular uses of the word *nervi* in the sense of 'sinews'.

When Cicero, Phil. 5.2.5, speaks of money as the sinews of war, *nervi belli pecunia*, it is clear that this use of *nervi* is a trope. When, however, he says, Verr. 2.3.56, *omnibus nervis mihi contendendum est*⁶⁹, I question whether the use is, historically speaking, tropical, as the dictionaries regard it. It seems preferable to believe that such usage is due to the feeling that in the *nervi* lies strength. Thus Persius says (1.45) *Decipe nervos*, 'Cheat your nerves (sinews)', which means, 'Cheat yourself into believing that you are sound and strong'.

Solinus, 1.7, expresses the common view: *Maximam virium substantiam nervos facere certissimum est, quantoque fuerint densiores, tanto propensius augescere firmitatem*. Solinus then proceeds to quote Varro. The latter marvels at the ruggedness of a Samnite who was a born gladiator, and states that many of his victories were due to the lattice-work of straight and transverse *nervi* on his breast. It may be noted, too, that *enervare*, 'to remove the sinews', means 'to weaken'⁷⁰.

With advances in the science of anatomy, the word *nervus* modified its meaning, but the old idea which attributed strength to the *nervi* has left its impress upon the Romance words for 'nerve'. French *nerf*, Spanish *nervio*, and Italian *nervo* all mean 'strength'

or 'vigor' as well as 'nerve'. The Spanish can say, *fuerte como un manojo di nervios*, 'strong as a bundle of nerves'.

I believe I have now noted the main misconceptions about the seats of our physical, intellectual and psychological life. I have also called attention to their effect upon the language and the customs of the Romans. I shall add an additional group of popular notions which were committed to writing in a most perfunctory fashion by a Latin author.

Pliny, after recording with approval in the eleventh book so many popular fallacies and beliefs, hesitates to be sponsor for certain others that tax even his credulity, and so he shifts the responsibility to Aristotle and Trogus: see 11.273-276.

'I marvel not only that Aristotle believed that there are in the human body certain prognostics of life, but that he went so far as to set them down. Although I believe them worthless, and think they ought not to be published without hesitation, lest each person should anxiously seek out these indications in his own case, I shall in spite of all touch upon them, since so learned a man did not reject them. He has, then, recorded as indications of a short life, a small number of teeth, abnormally long fingers, a leaden color and numerous broken lines in the palm; on the other hand he regards as signs of long life curving shoulders, one or two long unbroken lines in the hand, the presence of more than thirty-two teeth, and large ears. He puts significance, I think, not in all of these signs taken together, but in the isolated occurrence of any one of them. These beliefs are foolish, if you want my opinion, yet they are widely current.

In a similar manner amongst us a description of character as indicated by the physiognomy has been set forth by Trogus, although he is one of the most conservative writers. I shall let him speak for himself⁷¹. "When the forehead is large, it indicates a sluggish mind underneath; when small, a fickle disposition; when round, an irascible temper, a visible sign, as it were, of a swelling tumor beneath. Eyebrows extending in a straight line are indications of weakness; when turned down toward the nose they are a sign of austerity; when inclined toward the temples, they point to a sarcastic disposition; when they are very low, they denote envy and malice. Long eyes indicate a spiteful nature; fleshy corners of the eyes next to the nose furnish a sign of wickedness. The white of the eye when large is a sign of impudence; those who are forever working the eyelids are fickle. Large ears are a sign of loquacity and foolishness"⁷².

After completing the quotation Pliny again reminds the gentle reader that it is only a quotation.

There are, of course, other instances of folk-lore in connection with ancient anatomy and physiology, but I have in general confined myself to those beliefs which mistakenly assign physical, intellectual, and psychological attributes to certain parts of the body. The article is not exhaustive even in the range to which I have limited it, but it is hoped that it will shed

⁶⁶*Suadæ medulla*, Quintilian 2.15.4; Cicero, Brutus 59.

⁶⁷Zeller, *Outlines of Greek Philosophy*, 203.

⁶⁸Galen 5.205 (edition of Kühn).

⁶⁹Compare Love's *Labour's Lost* 1.5.303 *The sinewy vigour of the traveller*.

⁷⁰'Nerve once meant 'sinew' (*L. nervus*), as in Shakespeare's 'hardy as a Nemean lion's nerve'. Nervous was therefore 'vigorous', — a sense which remains in 'a nervous style' or a 'nervous writer'. With the advance of physiology, however, the name nerve received a different sense, with the result that, in ordinary use, nervous suggests almost the opposite of sinewy strength. It is worth notice that we have transferred to nerves in the modern sense a number of expressive words which are literally applicable to the muscles and the sinews. Thus we speak of 'nervous tension', and say 'every nerve was tense with excitement', or in the vernacular, 'his nerves were on the stretch'. Compare 'nervous strain'. 'To lose one's nerve' is really 'to lose one's sinewy fibre', to become weak and 'flabby'. In modern usage, a man 'loses his nerve' in proportion as he becomes conscious that he has nerves, — a curious contradiction, but natural enough when we know the history of the word'. (Greenough and Kittredge, *Words and their Ways in English Speech*, 213).

⁷¹Trogus is, however, indebted to Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* 1.9 ff.

⁷²A large and interesting collection of material of this character is to be found in P. R. Foerster, *Scriptores Physiognomici Graeci et Latini*.

fuller light on many passages of Latin literature and incidentally on modern forms of expression⁷³.

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REVIEW

Roman Craftsmen and Tradesmen of the Early Empire. University of Pennsylvania Dissertation. By Ethel Hampson Brewster. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Co. (1917). Pp. xiv + 101.

It is the writer's aim, therefore, to discuss Roman craftsmen and tradesmen as depicted by the satiric writers of the early Empire. The expression, 'satiric writers', is adopted in order to include not only Horace, Persius, and Juvenal, but also Petronius and Martial; . . . In lieu of a more comprehensive term, 'craftsmen' is used to designate those whom the Romans called *opifices*. An attempt has been made to investigate in the authors above mentioned all passages relevant to our subject; to incorporate the information secured into a connected account, with the aid of references from other sources by way of comparison or elucidation; and finally, to use this material as a basis for determining, so far as possible, the social status of Rome's industrial population during the period in question.

According to these words of Dr. Brewster (page xiii) her dissertation should be of interest especially to two classes of students—students of Roman satire, from which her material is largely drawn, and students of Roman private life and economic history, to which fields her conclusions most largely contribute.

By the familiar analytic, alphabetic method, to which we are now so accustomed in the dissertation form, the author classifies under twenty-six heads the craftsmen and tradesmen of Rome:

I Aerarii Ferrarii; II Argentarii; III Aurifices; IV Caelatores; V Caupones; VI Centonarii; VII Cerdones; VIII Coci; IX Coriarii; X Dendrophori; XI Fabri; XII Ferrarii; XIII Figuli; XIV Fullones; XV Institores; XVI Lanii; XVII Mangones; XVIII Mercatores; XIX Negotiatores; XX Pistoires; XXI Praecones; XXII Sutores Cerdones; XXIII Tabernarii; XXIV Textores; XXV Tignarii Collegia Fabrum Centonarium Dendrophorum; XXVI Tonsores.

Many of these trades run one into another. Concerning the majority the satirists give but little evidence, and usually of an inconclusive sort. Often where they pour praise or contempt upon a tradesman, it is difficult to determine whether the measure be the trade or the man or both. Guilt here, as elsewhere, is usually personal rather than occupational. Still there is the old taint of trade: the Republican prejudice continues; and noteworthy is the tradesman who through personal worth or commercial success rises

above his traditional social status. Dr. Brewster's work is very frankly a bit of special pleading for the "butcher, the baker, the candlestick-maker" of Imperial Rome. She has not always succeeded in winning a favorable verdict for her client; but in more than one case she has thrown the burden of proof on the complainant by a skillful cross-examination of the principal witness.

For example, butchers and the industrial population in general have been maligned because of Livy's denunciation of C. Terentius Varro (22.25.18 f.):

Loco non humili solum sed etiam sordido ortus. Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in servilia eius artis ministeria usum.

But, as Dr. Brewster shows (28-29), Livy complains chiefly, not that Terentius was the son of a butcher, but that his father had, like a slave, peddled his own meats, and had compelled his son to do the same. Dr. Brewster's conclusion (29) is as follows:

Since, therefore, the heaviest aspersions in the passage seem to be directed against a slave's occupation and a lawyer's dishonesty, they cannot fairly be cited as committing *lanii* and other tradesmen to the depths of social disgrace and degradation. All that is clearly proved is that butchers were of humble station. . . .

Similarly, also, Dr. Brewster has rehabilitated the *praeco* (44-53). The principal aspersions on the auctioneer's business are based on a provision of the Lex Iulia Municipalis, with Cicero's comment thereon (49-50). How is *praeconium* in the law to be interpreted? Cicero's statement does not help us. It seems clear from the context in which the word occurs, *qui praeconium dissignationem libitinamve faciet*, that the ban was placed upon *praecones* as attendants upon funerals, not as ordinary auctioneers. As the other two functionaries are the funeral marshal and the undertaker, so the *praeco* who might not hold the office of decurion in municipalities, colonies, or prefectures was the functionary whose part Phormio assumes when in Terence, Phormio 1026, he invites the audience to attend the funeral of Chremes: *Exsequias Chremeti quibus est commodum ire, em! tempus est*.

The rehabilitation of Echion, commonly called 'the rag-picker', will prove interesting to students of Petronius (81-82):

Surely <he> is more than a 'rag-dealer'; interpreted as a prosperous canvas manufacturer, perchance even a member of the local fire department, this character assumes grander proportions, and we can well understand his optimism, his pride in his country and his boys, and his effervescent sense of importance.

In this connection the vexed problem of the *collegia fabrum centonariorum dendrophorum* is well handled (86):

The *collegium fabrum* with its adjuncts, then, appears to have been a well-equipped and highly organized Department of Public Safety, charged with guarding against fires and upholding the peace. Presumably, the *fabri* made and manipulated the apparatus; the *centonarii* manufactured canvas, piecing it together to

⁷³A few lines from Shakespeare, Julius Caesar 4.3.42-47, will illustrate very clearly how ancient notions have survived:
All this! ay, more: fret till your proud heart break;
Go show your slaves how choleric you are,
And make your bondmen tremble. Must I budge?
Must I observe you? must I stand and crouch
Under your testy humour? By the gods,
You shall digest the venom of your spleen.